12 The population of the genealogies used in the study consists of a total of 843 persons. Some of these people were born in the village of Hsiachichou and died there; others lived in the village only before or after their marriage; still others were born in the village but given away in adoption within a year or two of birth. The entire population with which we will be concerned does, however, have at least two traits in common. At one time or another in their lives all were members of a family living in Hsiachichou, and if they were not living there themselves in 1960 they did have at least one primary relative living in the village at the time, a father or mother, a son or daughter, a brother or sister, or a husband or wife. Although our genealogies refer to a number of people who have moved away from the village or who have died so long ago as to have no surviving primary relative, we have excluded these cases from our analysis, assuming that such information as we have about them is untrustworthy. For various reasons we were unable to obtain the precise date of birth of a number of people included in our genealogies. Nonetheless, we are able to estimate within a year or two the birthdates of the great majority of our population, since we usually know the ages of their children and their spouse. According to these estimates, 20 of these 843 people were born in the years 1871-1880, 22 in 1881-1890, 56 in 1891-1900, 79 in 1901-1910, 80 in 1911-1920, 134 in 1921-1930, 133 in 1931-1940, 104 in 1941-1950, and 215 in the decade 1951-1960. The time period with which we will be concerned is therefore the ninety year period between 1870 and 1960, although it must be noted that by and

[101]

12 large the only decisions we will consider which took place before 1900
[101] will be those concerning adoption. Only a very small percentage of our total population reached marriageable age before the turn of the century.

[b21] With the exception of the 20 members of 5 families who came to Taiwan from the mainland of China since World War II, the population of our genealogies includes all of the residents of Hsiachichou in 1960, a total of 72 families with a combined membership of 562 people. It is important to remember, however, that our genealogies do not include all of those people who lived in Hsiachichou during the period 1870-1960. In many cases families who once lived in the village have moved away, and in these cases we do not have the information necessary to include them in our records. Moreover, our information concerning those people we have included is not equally detailed. In some cases we may know a woman's age and sibling order, the form of her marriage, her father's sibling order, and so forth, while in another all we may know is that she was born in Hsiachichou and that she was given away in adoption as a child. The reader should therefore not be surprised to find that the samples which we use to test various hypotheses vary considerably in size. If all we need to know is whether or not a woman was given away in adoption, we can use a much larger sample than if her sibling order is important to the particular test, and if we also need to know her father's sibling order still further cases must be eliminated for lack of necessary information. Finally, the reader should be warned at the outset that the information in our genealogies is not entirely free of error. Since our records were

2:Wolf E-5 (1958-1961) 1964 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Hsiachichou

CHAPTER 2

THE SETTING

101 The village of Hsiachichou is a small Hokkien community located near the market town of Hsulin on the southwestern edge of the Taipei basin. Seventy years ago when the Keelung and Tamsui Rivers were the only convenient avenues of transportation within the basin, Hsiachichou was commonly described as being situated on the west bank of the Tamsui River two hours upstream from the city of Taipei. The village's location on the river was then one of its most important characteristics, a fact still reflected in the name Hsiachichou, "The Place Down on the River." After 1923, however, the river began to lose its central place in the life of the village, this being the year in which the Formosan Development Company completed a rail line through the southern half of the Taipei basin. At first many of the villagers refused to make use of the railroad, apparently afraid of becoming contaminated by coal dug in inauspicious locations, but the advantages of convenient transportation overcame their qualms. Where it had formerly taken hours of hard poling to make a round trip to Taipei, the railroad made it possible to travel to the city and back in little more than an hour and in relative comfort. The village of Hsiachichou is today thought of as being "fifteen minutes from the Hsulin Station" or "three stops down track from Taipei." So completely has the river lost its central place in the life of the village that it is only in the seventh lunar month

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

not only be checked and checked again for their accuracy (as in any kind of systematic inquiry), but must also be set out in such a manner as to be consistent with the duty of frankness that the student owes to his readers and the obligations of loyalty and friendship he bears to his subjects. Anthropology studies people intensively and decently, and I am sure that Mrs. Wolf has discharged her double duty in a way that will command the respect of the most experienced practitioners of the craft. The care and intensiveness of the observations are matched by the delicacy and sensitivity of their expression.

Sentimentality is the enemy of anthropology. To write with understanding of people whose institutions and beliefs are alien requires the anthropologist to make an effort to see them as they are and to portray them as he sees them. He must view them in the round and strive to penetrate the meaning of their behavior through the language they use. Because they are his fellow human beings the anthropologist has privileged access to them; but because they speak a different language and think with different symbols, he has to break the code of another culture. To make us the beneficiaries of his studies, he must translate the exotic idiom into a language we follow, but he must do his best to avoid distorting his findings in the process of translation. Mrs. Wolf's book is in elegant English, yet she is not acting as, so to say, a simultaneous translator, but rather as a creative interpreter. She has seized in this book on one segment of Chinese life, extracted its order and meaning, and made us the fortunate heirs of her understanding.

The Lims of this study are Taiwanese, and, except in her subtitle and preface, Mrs. Wolf talks about Taiwan, not China in general. I must respect her choice of terms, but I should not be doing my job competently if I failed to point out that we may sometimes be misled by her terminology. Two phases of modern history (accidents from our present sociological viewpoint) may tempt us to think of Taiwan as a separate "country." From 1895 to 1945 it was governed by the Japanese; since 1949 it has been cut off by civil war from the mainland of China. But it is part of China, and nobody familiar with Chinese patterns of social organization and behavior will have any difficulty in recognizing the Lims and their neighbors as good Chinese. True, their mother tongue is not Mandarin, but then they share this peculiarity with millions of Chinese on the mainland.

The point is worth stressing because there is a tendency to look upon studies made in Taiwan (and in the British colony of Hong Kong) as

132 is about 184.4 (Nuttanson, 1963:130). In the winter, it rains more frequently, a little nearly every day and we often experienced two or three consecutive weeks without seeing the sun. Although the total quantity of rain is highest during the summer months, much of the summer rain falls during heavier rainstorms.

Historical Setting--Taiwan

• 101 The prehistory of Taiwan extends several centuries into the past. The base of origin and the cultural backgrounds of the various groups which migrated to Taiwan are matters of some dispute (Farrell, 1964; K. C. Chang, 1956). The remaining descendants of the early settlers now number about 200,000 and still live in the mountains where they are classified as aborigines (Cressey, 1964:174-5). The aborigines are usually classified into seven tribes or three language families. The languages are related to various Southeast Asian languages and aboriginal languages in Okinawa and the Philippines (Farrell, 1964).

175 The existence of Taiwan appears and disappears in the historical record of the Chinese empire. Meaningful settlement did not begin until the 12th century and large numbers emigrated only after the start of the 17th century (Hsieh, 1964:149). During the 15th and 16th century, Taiwan was the home base for Chinese and Japanese pirates who attacked shipping in the South China Sea. The Dutch, Portugese, and Spaniards vied for control of the island